

Description of the Original Manuscript Journals and Field Notebooks of Lewis and Clark, on which was based Biddle's History of the Expedition of 1804-6, and which are now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

By Dr. Elliott Coues, Washington, D. C.

(Read before the American Philosophical Society, January 20, 1893.)

It is well known that the *History of Lewis and Clark's Expedition* was written by Mr. Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia, and first published there in 1814, in two octavo volumes, by Bradford and Inskeep. It is also common report that the manuscripts of the famous explorers, upon which Mr. Biddle worked, are extant. But what these are, and where they are kept, few could have told.

All the Journals and Notebooks, in the handwritings respectively of Lewis and of Clark, upon which Mr. Biddle based his work, were deposited by him with the Philosophical Society in April, 1818. I have before me his original letter, of date April 6, 1818, making the deposit; also a copy of the receipt given by the Society. Both of these papers I owe to the kindness of Judge Craig Biddle, who also placed in my hands about fifty other documents, mainly Clark-Biddle correspondence relating to the preparation and publication of the work.

By the terms of this deposit, as accepted by the Philosophical Society, William Clark, his heirs or assigns, were and are always to have access to and use of these manuscripts for the preparation of any other edition of the work.

Mr. Jefferson K. Clark, of St. Louis, the only surviving son and heir of William Clark, very kindly furnished me with a letter to the Philosophical Society, desiring the manuscripts to be placed at my disposition for the preparation of the edition which I have now (Dec., 1892) in press.

I lately spent a week in the rooms of the Society, making there a preliminary study of the manuscripts, during which I was favored by Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr., the Secretary and Librarian, with every attention and facility. But finding it impossible to do the necessary work in the few days I could spend in Philadelphia, I preferred a formal request to be put in possession of the manuscripts for a limited period. By vote of the Society in open meeting, December 16, 1892, this request was granted, promptly and with great liberality; and the whole of the material thus passed into my hands.

Diligent and minute examination of these manuscripts satisfies me that their character should be made known, as a matter of great historic interest. Accordingly the present description is offered.

I will first describe the bound books and loose papers, just as I found them, in general terms; next, in terms of their several deposits—for there are more of them than Mr. Biddle deposited; and then I will give an

account of them in detail, as I have arranged them in a series of codices, which I call alphabetically Codex A, etc., to T.

I. THE BOOKS AND PAPERS AS FOUND.

Of four sorts: (1), (2), (3), three different styles of bound field Notebooks and Journals; (4), several lots of loose papers, mainly belonging with one of the styles of the bound volumes.

1. Thirteen (13) bound volumes, all alike, forming the most conspicuous part of the collection, and known since Biddle's time as "the red books." These are Journals and Notebooks of Lewis and of Clark, respectively, all in the handwriting of one or the other of the explorers. Eleven (11) of these are a part of the Biddle deposit; one (1) was deposited by Mr. Jefferson; one (1) is an unrecorded deposit. All are in remarkably good order, clean and sound inside and out; form oblong; back along short diameter, and as the pages were written on both sides, up and down, across the same diameter, the books open to and from the reader, not right and left; covers smooth bright *red* morocco, gilt-tooled edges, marbled inside, fastened at the fore end with brass clasps (now gone from eight of the volumes, intact on five of them); size of covers $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches (very nearly same size and shape as the leaves of the printed Philadelphia edition of 1814); paper about one quarter inch smaller each way than cover, or $7\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, rather thin, rough and tough, white (now with a slight brownish tinge), unruled; gathering supposed to be 76 folios or 152 pages in each book, exclusive of a pair of flyleaves marbled one side like inside of cover; but the number of leaves varies a little, and in several cases some leaves have been intentionally torn out—nowhere breaking the text, but to write something else on, or for another purpose. These books, as a whole, are written almost entirely full. Lewis' hand is particularly fine, fair and even; Clark's is larger, stronger and less regular; both are so good, and the pages are so perfectly preserved, that there is perhaps not a word, possibly not a letter, in the whole of these manuscripts not now distinctly legible. Seven (7) of these thirteen books are by Lewis alone; six (6) are by Clark alone. Eleven (11) are "Journals"—*i. e.*, narratives of the progress of the Expedition day by day, entered under consecutive dates. Two (2) are "Notebooks"—*i. e.*, miscellaneous entries, of various dates or none, of astronomical, geographical, ethnological, zoölogical, botanical, etc., items. In my arrangement these thirteen books become Codices D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P (see further on). With them belong more or less intimately certain parcels of loose sheets (see on).

2. One (1) bound volume, the "brown" book, standing alone. This is almost exactly the size, shape, etc., of the foregoing, but quite unlike them in appearance. It is bound in rough brown leather, sides and edges alike, not marbled inside; it is thicker than any of the other volumes, the paper being heavier and courser; the leaves are 137, pages 274. This

is mainly a Journal, and mainly in Clark's hand, but with some entries by Lewis, and some by another hand. It includes the whole of the wintering of the Expedition at Fort Mandan, and various other matters. For contents see beyond, Codex C, which this volume now forms.

3. Four (4) bound volumes, which may be called the "marble" books, from the style of their covers. Form oblong, like that of all the foregoing; size of covers $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4$ inches, leaves $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$; paper rough, whitish, unruled; covers pasteboard, overlaid with marbled paper, back and corners of thin, smooth, brown leather. All in good order but one, which is worn and shabby; all written full, and perfectly legible throughout. The gathering of these four books is supposed to be 92 leaves or 184 pages; in one I find but 164 pages, though without any break in the text that I can discover. Two of these books are Clark's Journals, from the starting of the Expedition to October 3, 1804; the other two are Notebooks, chiefly natural history notes, by both Lewis and Clark. The four now form my Codices A, B and Q, R (see beyond).

4. Several parcels of loose sheets of manuscript, some in Lewis' hand, some in Clark's. Most of these papers are of the same size, shape and quality as the leaves of the red books, having been, in fact, taken from some of the latter, as may be seen by fitting the torn ends to the stubs remaining in the volumes. Those parcels which thus obviously belong to certain of the red books, or with the red books as a set, I have arranged as Codices Fa, Fb, Fe, Fd, Fe, La, Lb. One of the parcels is a different fragment, imperfect, once part of a Notebook, not found, like the small marble books; this is now Codex Ia. Two of the parcels belong with the small marble books, and thus become Codices Aa, Ba. Two remaining parcels, not directly connected with any of the bound volumes, are now Codices S, T. These manuscripts were all loose; as arranged they make twelve (12) parcels and as many codices, for the particular description of which see beyond.

The above are all the books and papers in my hands which are actual manuscripts of Lewis or of Clark. They are accompanied by Mr. Biddle's letter of deposit, and several memoranda concerning them, in Biddle's or another hand.

II. THE BOOKS AND PAPERS AS DEPOSITED.

I do not find quite all of the Biddle deposit, as itemized in the receipt given him by the Society; for example, no vocabularies and no maps. The "Meteorological Register" he specifies is simply certain leaves detached from the red books, and thus already accounted for. All the loose manuscript above specified is supposed to be included in the Biddle deposit. But I find four books from other sources remaining to be accounted for. As to their deposits, therefore, the Lewis and Clark manuscripts fall into the following arrangement:

1. The Biddle deposit, fourteen bound volumes, viz.: Two of the four

small marble books ; the one brown book ; and eleven of the thirteen red books. With these belong all the loose papers, as above said.

2. The Jefferson deposit, consisting of three bound volumes. Two of these are small marble books, matching the other two deposited by Biddle. Each is by both Lewis and Clark, and each consists of miscellaneous field notes, mainly on zoölogy and botany. They now form Codices Q, R. The third volume is one of the red books. It is a Clark, and contains miscellaneous notes, chiefly on natural history. It is now Codex P. These three were deposited by Mr. Jefferson in November, 1817, as appears by memorandum in each of them, in Biddle's hand.

3. Unknown deposit : One of the thirteen red books, without record of source whence obtained. This is a Lewis, and consists of certain astronomical observations and geographical notes. It is now Codex O.

III. THE BOOKS AND PAPERS AS ARRANGED.

I have gone very carefully through these precious manuscripts, and arranged them in what appears to be their natural sequence or logical order. All the red books, making the bulk of the collection, fall easily together, preceded by two of the small marble books and by the brown book, followed by the other two small marble books, and the set of bound volumes is interspersed with the twelve parcels of unbound manuscripts which I have made up from the loose sheets, securely fastened in stiff paper covers, and for the most part interleaved with onion-skin writing paper. I have also paginated the whole of the manuscripts, which can now be cited by codex and page throughout, as if by volume and page of a published work. There is in all upward of 2,000 pages. Description in detail of the now thirty (30) codices here follows :

CODEx A.—One of the four small marbled cover books. Biddle deposit No. 1. Clark's original No. 1. In good order. Folios 92, pages 184. Being CLARK'S Journal, complete, from May 13, 1804, to Aug. 14, 1804. This takes the Expedition from the 1803-4 winter camp on Du Bois or Wood river up the Missouri to the creek on which the Omahas resided (to p. 44, Vol. i, of the printed text).

Contents.—(1) Table of Missouri river distances up to Big Sioux river, canceled in red ink by Clark or by Biddle, inside front cover. (2) Memorandum of wintering, p. 1. (3) Memorandum of the country, p. 2. (4) Journal, May 13-Aug. 14, 1804, pp. 3-179. (5) Tables of latitudes, pp. 180, 181. (6) Astronomical observations, pp. 182, 183. (7) Memorandum of the badger, p. 184. (8) Astronomical observations, inside back cover.

CODEx A₁.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number; collate with Clark Codex A. In good order. Folios 4, loose, torn from a book like one of the red books ; 5½ pages written. Being LEWIS' Journal, of dates May 20 and 15, 1804, covering starting of the Expedition, which Lewis joined at St. Charles on the 20th.

Contents—(1) Blank, p. 1. (2) Entry May 20, 1804, pp. 2-6. (3) Entry May 15, 1804, pp. 6, 7. (4) Blank, p. 8 (memorandum in another hand, "Part of No. 1").

CODEx B.—One of the small marbled cover books. Biddle deposit No. 2. Clark's original No. 2. In good order. Folios 90, pages 180, counting front flyleaf; one leaf and the flyleaf gone at end, but no break in the MS., which continues on from p. 180 to inside of cover. Being CLARK'S Journal, complete, from Aug. 15, 1804, to Oct. 3, 1804. This takes the Expedition from the creek on which the Omahas resided to next day beyond Caution island (pp. 44-97 of Vol. i, of the printed text).

Contents.—(1) Blank, front flyleaf, p. 1. (2) Memorandum of Corvus bird, back of flyleaf, p. 2. (3) Journal as said, pp. 3-180, and on to inside back cover. (4) Memorandum of pay due men, inside back cover. Item, Clark's classification of Sioux tribes, pp. 56, 57. Item, description of the celebrated "fortification" on Bon Homme island, pp. 66-69 (but the sketch map of this natural formation is in Codex N, one of the red books, and only half of this was engraved for the copperplate facing printed p. 63, Vol. i).

CODEx Ba.—Fragment, torn from a book like one of the red books. Biddle deposit. No number; collate with Clark Codex B. In fair order; some corners gone; loose folios 4, pages 7½ written. Being LEWIS' Journal, Sept. 16 and 17, 1804, when the Expedition was at Corvus creek.

Contents.—(1) Two entries, at dates said, pp. 1-8; Corvus creek named; antelope described, etc. See printed text, pp. 72, 73 of Vol. i. (2) Memorandum in another hand, "This a part of No. 2," reversed on p. 8. The fragment ends in the middle of a sentence on middle of p. 8.

CODEx C.—The brown leather cover book above described, and which may be also known as "The Mandan Codex." Biddle deposit No. 3. Clark's No. 3. Biddle's No. 3. In perfect order. Folios 137, pages 274, and inside of both covers written over. Being CLARK'S Journal, complete, traversing dates Oct. 1-3, 1804, from Codex B, then of dates Oct. 4, 1804, to April 7, 1805, when the Expedition left Fort Mandan; LEWIS enters Feb. 3-13, 1805, when Clark was away on a hunt; another hand invoices, etc. This Journal covers route from Cheyenne river to the Mandans, and residence there.

Contents.—*A.* Reading forward: (1) Indian memorandum, inside front cover. (2) Botanical memorandum, lengthwise on p. 1. (3) Clark's Journal, Oct. 1, 1804, to Feb. 2, 1805, pp. 2-160. (4) Lewis' Journal, Feb. 3-13, 1805, pp. 160-174. (5) Clark's entries of his hunting trip, Feb. 3-13, 1805, pp. 174-177. (6) Clark's Journal, Feb. 14 to March 21, 1805, pp. 178-198. (7) Lewis' entry of March 16, 1805, pp. 199-202. (8) Clark's Journal, March 23 to April 7, 1805, pp. 202-214; blank p. 215. *B.* Reading backward: (9) Memorandum of British forts, inside back cover. (10) Baling invoice of sundries for Indian presents, stores, etc., by another hand, pp. 274-256. (11) Sketch map of Red and St. Peter's

rivers, p. 255. (12) Blank p. 254. (13) Summary statement of the rivers, etc., pp. 253-248. (14) Distances of sundry places up the Missouri to the Mandans, p. 247. (15) Weather diary, etc., Jan. 1, 1804, to April 7, 1805, pp. 248-216. (16) Blank p. 215.

Note.—This is one of the most important, as it is also the most miscellaneous, of all the codices. Both Lewis and Clark have a hand in it, as does also another person. The progress of the Expedition covered by it is as above said. It has all the matter of the residence at Fort Mandan. The Journal proper covers pp. 94-178 of Vol. i of the Biddle print, but the codex contains much other matter. Items (1), (2), (9) and (11) were not used by Biddle. Item (10) is a most elaborate invoice of the goods, stores, etc., summarized by Biddle, p. 2 of Vol. i. Item (8) gives on pp. 208-211 a detailed invoice of the natural history specimens, curiosities, etc., sent to Jefferson April 7, 1805. Item (13), the "Summary Statement," is *not* the original of that printed by Biddle, Vol. ii, p. 462 *seq.*, being an early rough draft of Clark's, afterward improved upon in another codex; and it also includes places and distances on the Missouri above the Mandans, and on the Yellowstone, from Indian information gathered before April 7, 1805. Item (15), the Weather Diary and Remarks, is the original of Biddle's print, Vol. ii, p. 476, to the date April 7, 1805, on p. 484, but the corresponding "Remarks and Reflections" of the Biddle print, pp. 495-505, are compiled only in part from this item, in part from another weather diary of same dates.

CODEx D.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 4. In perfect order, brass clasp half remaining. Cover clean and scarcely warped. Folios 70, pages 140, besides two fly-leaves marbled one side like inside of covers; there should be folios 76, pages 152, but several leaves are torn out at end (these are preserved, being now part of Codex Fe, which see). This is LEWIS' Journal, complete, April 7, 1805, to May 23, 1805, from the Mandans to a little above Musselshell river, and *corresponding* in dates with Biddle's pp. 177-226 of Vol. i; but the printed text follows mainly a Clark Journal I have not found.*

Contents.—(1) Blank, marbled flyleaf and pp. 1, 2. (2) Journal as above said, pp. 3-139. (3) Page 140, reading backward, is the end of the remarks belonging to the weather diary for April to June, 1805, torn out and now a part of Codex Fe. The Journal itself is intact for the dates said. (4) Marbled flyleaf, blank, but for a penciled memorandum of mine to above effect.

CODEx E.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 5. In perfect order inside, brass clasp gone, covers clean, one of them creased crosswise. Folios 78, pages 156, and both

* One of Clark's Journals is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Jefferson K. Clark, of St. Louis. I am not informed of the dates covered by this volume, nor of the nature of its contents.

marbled flyleaves written over one side. Being LEWIS' Journal, complete, pp. 1-156, and both flies, May 24, 1805, to July 16, 1805, carrying the Expedition from North Mountain creek to the Gates of the Rocky Mountains, followed in the Biddle text, mainly, pp. 226-303 of Vol. i.

Contents.—(1) Text of Lewis' Journal as above sufficiently indicated. But also: (2) Colored sketch map of the Great Falls and Portage of the Missouri, pp. 132, 133. This sketch covers the Missouri from the cache near Portage creek up to above Smith's river, with Fort Mountain in the southwest corner; only about two-thirds of it was engraved for the plate facing p. 261, Vol. i, of the Biddle edition. The scale is "600 poles to the inch," much reduced in the copperplate as engraved.

CODEx F.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 6. In perfect order inside and out, except brass clasp gone. Folios 76, pages 152, and one side of both marbled flyleaves written over = pages 154; p. 153, on back fly, continued as p. 154 on front fly. Being LEWIS' Journal, complete and intact, July 17, 1805, to Aug. 22, 1805 (except Aug. 1-4), carrying the Expedition from the Gates to the Three Forks of the Missouri, thence up Jefferson river and over the Rocky Mountains to the Shoshone village; corresponding to pp. 303-398 of Vol. i, of the Biddle text.

Contents.—As above; no other matter. See Codex Fa.

CODEx Fa.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 4, pages 8, loose sheets, written over $6\frac{1}{2}$ pages, same paper as one of the red books. Being LEWIS' Journal, Aug. 1-4, 1805, but merely another narrative of those days, already fully written up at pp. 52-66 of Codex F, with which collate.

Contents.—As just said.

CODEx Fb.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 13, pages 26, written $25\frac{1}{4}$, loose sheets, same paper as the red books. LEWIS' Journal, Aug. 23-26, 1805, therefore in direct continuation of Codex F. Text mainly the account of the Shoshone Indians as given in Biddle's Chap. xvi, Vol. i. The *dates* are included in Clark's Journal, Codex G.

Contents.—As above said. Verso of folio 13, p. 26, has inked memoranda: (1) "This comes into No. 7 [Codex G] between the 23d and 26th August, 1805," *i e.*, put this account of the Shoshone Indians in text to be got from Clark's Journal of those dates. (2) "This has been copied from W. C. Journal and comes in as above in No. 7 [Codex G]."

CODEx Fc.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 2, pages 4, full. Loose sheets, paper of the red books. LEWIS' Journal, Sept. 9 and 10, 1805, at and near Traveler's Rest creek. This codex comes after Codex Fb, but not connectedly. The dates are covered by Clark, Codex G.

Contents.—As above.

CODEx Fd.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 4, pages 8, full. Loose sheets, paper of the red books. LEWIS' Journal, Sept. 18-22, 1805, Hungry creek, Chopunnish Indians, etc. Follows Codex Fc, but not connectedly. Dates covered by Clark, Codex G.

Contents.—As above. At end: (1) Memorandum, "This is a part of Book No. 7 [Codex G] to be referred to and examined after the 9th Sept., 1805.—W. C." (2) Memorandum, "Look forward 4 leaves," in Biddle's hand.

CODEx Fe.—Two fragments. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios $5 + 3 = 8$, pages $10 + 6 = 16$. Paper like that of the red books, from two of which these fragments have been torn. LEWIS' weather diary for April, May and June, 1805, and for July, Aug. and Sept., 1805.

Contents.—(1) April to June, 1805, 5 leaves belonging to Codex D (which see), as the torn ends of the sheets fit the stubs left in the book, p. 140 *seq.* These folios are in fact pp. 141-152 of Codex D, or reading backward, as the weather diary began at end of book, pp. 152-141, continued on to p. 140 of the book with remarks for June, 1805. (2) July to Sept., 1805, 3 leaves, likewise torn from one of the red books.

Note.—This codex is the basis of Biddle's meteorological tables, April 1 to Sept. 30, 1805, in Vol. ii, pp. 484-488, and of the "Remarks and Reflections" pertaining to these dates, pp. 503-508. By dates Codex Fe is to be collated with Codices D, E, F, G.

CODEx G.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Clark's No. 5. Biddle's No. 7. In perfect order inside and out; brass clasp intact. Folios 76, pages 152, besides the marbled flyleaves, one of which is written on. CLARK's Journal, complete, July 1, 1805, to Oct. 10, 1805, covering the whole of the route from White Bear islands, at the head of the Great Falls of the Missouri, to the mouth of the Kooskooskee or Clearwater river.

Contents.—(1) Certain distances and latitudes, p. 1 and overrun on front flyleaf. (2) Journal, dates as above, pp. 2-150. (3) Blank, pp. 151, 152, and back flyleaf. This narrative is the main basis of Biddle's pp. 289-end of Vol. I, though of course the parallel narrative of Lewis is collated in its proper connections. It is utilized by Biddle for the dates in which it laps back over Lewis Codex F.

CODEx H.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit No. 8. No Clark number. In perfect order, inside and out; brass clasp intact. Folios 76, pages 152, besides back and front marbled flyleaves. CLARK's Journal, complete, Oct. 11, 1805, to Nov. 19, 1805, going down "Lewis'" river and the Columbia to the mouth of the latter.

Contents.—(1) Biddle's memorandum for engraving plates, verso of front flyleaf. (2) Colored sketch map of Great Falls of the Columbia, scale 200 yards to the inch, p. 1 and overrunning on fly. (3) Colored

sketch map of Long and Short Narrows of the Columbia, continuously on pp. 2 and 3, scale 426 poles to the inch. (4) Colored sketch map of the Great Shoot or Rapid of the Columbia, same scale, p. 4. (5) Journal as above said, pp. 5-152, including colored sketch map of "Lewis'" river, etc., p. 33.

Note.—Codex II is main basis of Biddle, Vol. ii, pp. 1-81. Of the maps above said, only (2) and (4) were ever engraved. These form two of the three plates of Biddle's Vol. ii.

CODEx I.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit No. 9. No Clark number. In perfect order, inside and out; only brass clasp gone. Folios 78, pages 156, besides the two marbled flyleaves. CLARK'S Journal, complete, Nov. 19, 1805 (directly continued from same date in Codex II) to Jan. 29, 1806, at and about the mouth of the Columbia and residence in Fort Clatsop, with various other matter, for which see contents following.

Contents.—*A.* Reading forward: (1) Blank, p. 1. (2) Estimated distances, etc., mouth of the Missouri to mouth of the Columbia, by the route the Expedition went out, pp. 2-12—not the basis, however, of the "Summary Statement" as printed. (3) Diary of the weather, etc., April, 1805, to Jan., 1806, pp. 13-33. (4) Journal, as above said, pp. 34-144. *B.* Reading backward: (5) List of traders visiting the Columbia, p. 156. (6) Estimate of the Western Indians, pp. 155-147, in the midst of which is (7) colored sketch map of the mouth of the Columbia, p. 152. (8) Three journal entries, Jan. 1-3, 1806, pp. 146, 145.

Note.—Codex I is the main basis of Biddle's printed text, Vol. ii, pp. 80-146, though of course with collation of Lewis' parallel narrative. The list of traders is on Biddle's p. 145. Biddle also uses the weather diary in one part, for the months not taken from Lewis. The sketch map forms the third of the copper plates of Biddle's Vol. ii. But the most important special matter in this Codex is the "Estimate of the Western Indians," an original basis of Biddle's pp. 471-476. The printed pages, however, do not follow this Clark Codex I, but are from some revised manuscript furnished by Clark.

CODEx Ia.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 5, pages written 8; small paper like that of one of the small marble cover books. LEWIS' Journal, Nov. 29-Dec. 1, 1805, when he explored by himself a place on the S. W. side of the Columbia.

Contents.—(1) Entries Nov. 29 to Dec. 1, 1805, as above said, pp. 1-6, ending abruptly unfinished. (2) A very slight sketch map, Point Adams, p. 7. (3) Fragment of a botanical description, not connected with the rest of the text. (4) Label of the fragment in another hand, p. 8. Lewis' going and coming is noted in Biddle, p. 87 and p. 90, Vol. ii. The fragment should have extended to Dec. 5. Slight as it is, it is significant, as this was the trip on which Lewis discovered and determined upon the site for Fort Clatsop.

CODEx J.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit, No. 10. In perfect order inside and out, only clasp gone. Folios 76, pages 152, besides marbled flyleaves. LEWIS' Journal, complete, Jan. 1, 1806, to March 20, 1806, thus covering the residence of the party in Fort Clatsop. The manuscript is very close, clear and clean, and illustrated with numerous pen and ink sketches of Indian implements and utensils, birds, fishes, etc. There is a well-drawn head of the California condor, the white-fronted goose, and some full-length fishes, size of the page. We will specify this as "The Clatsop Codex."

Contents.—*A.* Reading forward: (1) Sketches, p. 1. (2) Journal as said, pp. 3-145. *B.* Reading backward: (3) Weather Diary, Jan. to March, 1806, pp. 152-145, meeting ending of Journal in the midst of the page. By dates the matter of this codex, as far as the Journal is concerned, is comprised between Biddle's pp. 103-147 of Vol. ii.

CODEx K.—One of the thirteen red morocco books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 10. In perfect order inside and out, only brass clasp gone. Folios 76, pages 152, and two marbled flyleaves. LEWIS' Journal, complete, March 21, 1806, to May 23, 1806, in direct continuation of Codex J, covering voyage up the Columbia and journey over the Bitter-root mountains.

Contents.—*A.* Reading forward: (1) Journal, as just said, pp. 1-147, includes a sketch map of the Multnomah river, p. 28. *B.* Reading backward: (2) Weather diary, April and May, 1806, pp. 152-147, meeting the Journal near bottom of the page.

Note.—The Journal of this codex, so far as it is utilized, makes Biddle's pp. 205-299 of Vol. ii.

CODEx L.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 12. In good order inside and out, brass clasp intact. Total folios 75, pages 150, inclusive of three folios I have fastened in where they belong, exclusive of the two marbled flyleaves, both written on one side. LEWIS' Journal, not complete, May 24, 1806, to Aug. 8, 1806, excepting July 5-14, which is Codex La, completing the Journal between dates said. This Codex L, together with La, covers the making of "Lewis and Clark's Pass," Lewis' exploration of Maria's river, and his Indian fight. It is continued by Lb, which see.

Contents.—(1) Astronomical memorandum, verso front fly. (2) Journal, May 24 to July 4, pp. 1-80. (3) Blank pp. 81-98, left so by Lewis to copy in here the Journal of July 5-14, which is now Codex La. (4) Journal, July 15 to Aug. 8, pp. 99-144, where text calls for a supplement, which supplement is my Codex Lb, LEWIS' Journal, Aug. 9-12, 1806, and end of all his Journals. (5) Weather diary, June, July, Aug., 1806. (6) A memorandum of the traders Dickson and Hancock, on back flyleaf.

Note.—This codex, with its important belongings La and Lb, is the sole basis of Biddle's Vol. ii, pp. 332-365, relating to Lewis' party, at the dates said separated from Clark's.

CODEx La.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In poor order ; one sheet in bad order. Sheets 4½, folios 9, pages 18, of a folded note-paper, not matching paper from any of the bound books, and one sheet not matching the rest. LEWIS' Journal, July 3-15, 1806, the making of "Lewis and Clark's Pass." We will call it "The Pass Codex."

Note.—This is by far the most important of all the fragments, and unhappily in the worst order of all the manuscripts. Sheet 1, folios 2, pages 4, is larger than the rest, thin and now very brittle. Having been handled and packed with smaller sheets, the edges are ragged, especially at bottom. The last line on each of the four pages was probably going in Biddle's time, for he has interlined some words that were then in danger of becoming illegible. Others that were only made out with difficulty when I got the manuscript I have interlined to like purpose ; and certainly every word is saved. The top was in the same state, but has no lines so near the edge, and I have trimmed it smooth. This sheet is badly stained, also, perhaps from getting wet when Lewis forded a river with it in his pocket. The Pass is made July 7, at the bottom of p. 7 of this fragment. The MS. ends illegibly near the bottom of p. 18. Two other hands make a memorandum across the blank space, to the effect that this fragment belongs to Biddle's No. 12, my Codex L, where 10 folios were left blank by Lewis for its insertion, and where it should be carefully copied into the clean book.

CODEx Lb.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In good order. Folios 4, pages 7 written + 1 blank, paper like that of the red books. LEWIS' Journal, Aug. 9-12, 1806, and last ; includes his being shot by Cruzatte.

Note.—Sole basis of Biddle's pp. 363-365, Vol. ii.

CODEx M.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 13. In perfect order inside and out, brass clasp intact. Folios 76, but pages 154, including one side of each marbled fly-leaf. CLARK'S Journal, complete, June 7, 1806, to Aug. 14, 1806. Parallel narrative with Lewis' to July 3, when the party separated, then Clark's sole narrative of the journey from Traveler's Rest creek to the Jefferson river, making "Clark's Pass," thence down the Jefferson, up the Gallatin, over to the Yellowstone, and down this to its mouth, below which the separated parties reunited ; also weather diary, June to Aug., 1806. This may be known as "The Yellowstone Codex."

Contents.—(1) Chopunnish Indian sketch map of various rivers, pp 1, 2. (2) Journal as said, pp. 3-145. (4) Weather diary, Aug., July and June, pp. 146-152, properly reading backwards. (5) Blank, p. 153. (6) Certain memoranda, p. 154 (back flyleaf).

Note.—The sketch map is that mentioned in Biddle, as drawn by Chopunnish Indians and copied on paper by Clark. It was never engraved. With Lewis' parallel narrative to July 3, this codex is the basis of Biddle, Vol. ii, pp. 309-332 : then it is sole basis of pp. 366-404.

CODEx N.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 14, and last. In perfect order inside and out, only brass clasp gone. Folios 76, but pages 154, one side of both flyleaves being written over. CLARK's Journal, complete, Aug. 15 to Sept. 26, 1806, and his last, bringing the reunited party down the Missouri to St. Louis; also various other matter (see contents).

Contents.—*A.* Reading forward: (1) Memorandum of articles forwarded from St. Louis to Louisville, Ky., pp. 1, 2 (one side of front fly and next page). (2) Journal as above said, pp. 3-78. (3) Blank, pp. 79, 80. (4) Sketch of the "Ancient fortification on Bon Homme island," pp. 81, 82; text to the same, pp. 83-85. (5) Blank, pp. 86-121. *B.* Reading backward: (6) Certain natural history notes, pp. 154, 153. (7) Weather diary, Sept., 1806, pp. 152, 151. (8) Important sketch map of the "River of the Road to Buffalo," locating "Lewis and Clark's Pass," etc., pp. 150, 149; never engraved. (9) Courses and distances from Traveler's Rest creek to the Great Falls of the Missouri, pp. 143-144. (10) Summary Statement of the Rivers, etc., "by Capts. Lewis and Clark," pp. 142-133. (11) Summary Statement of the Yellowstone distances, etc., pp. 132, 131. (12) Portage from the Yellowstone to the Three Forks of the Missouri, pp. 130, 129. (13) Various notes, pp. 128-122.

Note.—An important codex. As Lewis kept no Journal after Aug. 12, 1806, when he had been shot, the remainder of Biddle's Vol. ii is based on this codex, as far as p. 433, end of the History. "The Summary Statement," item (10) above, in Clark's hand, forms pp. 462-470 of Biddle's appendix; it is printed almost word for word. Items (11), (12) and (13), however, were never printed.

CODEx O.—One of the thirteen red morocco books. No Biddle number. Not deposited by Biddle; perhaps by Jefferson; by whom unknown; not one of the regular series of Journals. In perfect order inside and out; brass clasp intact. Folios 64 only, pages 128 only, exclusive of the two flyleaves, probably up to the usual 72 folios, cut out of end. Text as far as it goes perfect and signed "Meriwether Lewis," showing end there. Whole MS. is in LEWIS' hand. The gone leaves were probably taken to be used for other writing, and their absence in no way affects what is in the book (see contents).

Contents.—(1) Entry "Camp ten miles above the mouth of the river Platte, July 22, 1804," p. 1, and following to p. 5 is description of the astronomical instruments used on the Expedition. (2) Astronomical observations for latitude and longitude, May 18, 1804, to March 30, 1805, pp. 6-52. (3) Blank, pp. 53-58. (4) Torn out, 4 folios, pp. 59-66, but no text broken. (5) Blank, pp. 67, 68. (6) Description of the Missouri and other rivers, etc., from the mouth of the Missouri to the Mandans, according to the observations of the Expedition, and beyond the Mandans upon Indian and other information, pp. 69-128. This is a connected general account, the original draft of which was doubtless written at Fort Mandan, winter of 1804-5, as text to accompany the map which was sent

thence to President Jefferson, April 7, 1805. Hence I infer that the substance of this codex was among the papers dispatched to the President at that date; but I have no record of how or when it came into the possession of the Philosophical Society. It does not seem to have been known to Biddle, or at any rate was not used by him in writing the history of the Expedition. (7) Torn out, p. 129 to end.

CODEx P.—One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. No Biddle number. Not one of the regular Journals. Jefferson deposit, Nov., 1817. In perfect order inside and out; only brass clasp gone. Folios only 68, pages 136, exclusive of two flyleaves written on; 4 folios = 8 pages gone, but no break in the manuscript. CLARK'S Natural History Notes, etc., April 9, 1805, to Feb. 17, 1806 (see contents).

Contents.—*A.* Reading forward: (1) Memorandum of weather, Feb. 28 to March 28, 1804, on front flyleaf and p. 1. (2) Memorandum of Jefferson's deposit of this Codex, in Biddle's hand, across p. 1. (3) Missing 4 leaves, pp. 3-10. (4) Blank, pp. 11, 12. (5) Numerous and various zoölogical and botanical notes, at entries of dates above said, pp. 13-124 (missing pp. 80-84). *B.* Reading backward: (6) Some money accounts, canceled, on one side of back flyleaf. (7) Blank, pp. 136-134. (8) Memorandum, p. 133. (9) Blank, p. 132. (10) Weather diary, July, Aug., Sept., 1805, pp. 131-125.

Note.—This codex is important in item (5), which is the main though not the sole basis of Biddle's natural history chapter vii, in Vol. ii. Some of this chapter is almost literally from this codex, but zoölogical and botanical matter from various other codices is there compiled. I may here give the simple explanation of the extreme meagreness and paucity of the natural history notes in Lewis and Clark, with the sole exception of what is in Chap. vii, Vol. ii. It was intended that Dr. B. S. Barton should work up the natural history in both branches, as stated by Biddle in the Preface which he allowed Paul Allen to sign. The codices (Journals) are everywhere rich in such materials—often giving elaborate descriptions of animals and plants which the printed text barely mentions. These manuscripts will doubtless suffice for the scientific identification of the objects described, in nearly all cases. But these passages are almost always canceled in red ink by Biddle or by Clark, with the remark, "Dr. Barton," "Copy for Dr. Barton," "Copied for Dr. Barton," etc., showing that the editor designedly passed them by for the purpose thus indicated. But Dr. Barton never did anything with this wealth of new material; his death occurred soon after the volumes were published, and nothing that I know of bearing on the zoölogy and botany of Lewis and Clark was ever found among his papers. Thus the whole intention miscarried; what little zoölogy was ever made out of the expedition was done by Wilson, Ord and Rafinesque, mainly, and what little botany, I think, by Pursh. In 1876 I worked out the mammals and birds as well as I could from the printed text of Chap. vii, Vol. ii.

CODEX Q.—One of the four small marbled cover books. No Biddle number. Jefferson deposit. In good order. Folios 92, pages 184. LEWIS and CLARK'S Miscellaneous Notes, chiefly on natural history, 1804-1806. A mate to Codex R (see contents).

Contents.—(1) Biddle's memorandum of Jefferson's deposit of this codex, inside front cover. (2) Blank, pp. 1, 2. (3) Lewis' natural history notes, pp. 4-24. (4) Blank, pp. 25-30. (5) Lewis' natural history notes, pp. 31-45. (6) Blank, pp. 46, 47. (7) Lewis' natural history notes, pp. 48-56. Lewis' notes run consecutively by dates, entries being from Aug. 2, 1804, to May 9, 1805. (8) Clark's natural history notes, pp. 57-181. Clark's notes are by dated entries, but in no consecutive order. (9) Blank, pp. 182-184.

Note.—This and R are the only codices of the whole series of which Lewis and Clark are joint authors—though Lewis has a few entries in Clark Codex C. I observe no marks by Biddle in the MS, and probably he did not use this codex at all. It has some valuable descriptions, found nowhere else, but on the whole is of much less importance to the naturalist than Codex P. It was long in Mr. Jefferson's hands, and deposited by him in Nov., 1817.

CODEX R.—One of the four small marbled cover books. No Biddle number. Jefferson deposit. Cover most worn of any of the books, and very shabby; inside sound and clean, except a torn flyleaf. Folios 82, pages 164. LEWIS and CLARK'S Miscellaneous Notes, chiefly on botany and zoölogy, May, 1804, to March, 1806. A mate to Codex Q (see contents).

Contents.—(1) Biddle's memorandum of Jefferson's deposit of the book, inside front cover. (2) Half of the same memorandum duplicated on the torn p. 2. (3) Blank, p. 3. (4) Lewis' Botanical Register; List of specimens of plants, Nos. 1-108, entered May 10, 1804, to Nov. 17, 1804, pp. 4-49. (5) Lewis' Zoölogical Notes, Fort Clatsop, Dec. 18, 1805, pp. 50-53. (6) Blank, pp. 54-58. (7) Clark's Botanical and Zoölogical Notes, Fort Clatsop, Feb. 18 to March 11, 1806, pp. 59-162. (8) A memorandum of "lava" by Lewis, p. 163. (9) Blank, p. 164. (10) Word "mineralogy," and memorandum of a bird, inside back cover.

Note.—The same remarks apply to this as to Codex Q.

CODEX S.—Fragment. Biddle deposit. Loose sheets 4 = folios 8 = pages 16, of notepaper, unlike the paper of any of the bound codices. In good order. LEWIS, Two letters of.

Contents.—(1) Letter to President Jefferson, dated St. Louis, Sept. 23, 1806, announcing the return of the Expedition. This is the rough original, full of interlineations and erasures, from which a fair copy was doubtless made and mailed to the President, Lewis retaining the present MS. It is of great historic interest as a curiosity, but of no special value otherwise. It is complete, with official signature and address; it makes 5½ folios, or 11 pages, the second letter being on the same sheets as the

first one, occupying the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ folios, or 5 pages. (2) A letter, fragmentary, without signature or address, presumably intended for the President, in Lewis' hand, misdated St. Louis, Sept. 21 (probably meant for 24), 1806, and proceeding to give a general account of the Expedition, till it breaks off in the middle of a sentence at bottom of p. 16. It announces the discovery of the Yellow Rock or "Roghejone" river—that is, of the Yellowstone or Roche jaune.

CODEX T.—Fragment. No record or identification. One folio, 2 pages, apparently Clark's hand, but "Capt. Clark" spoken of in the third person. It is a half sheet of notepaper, not from any one of the bound books, and a mere excerpt, without proper beginning or end, speaking of some geographical and other matters of no special consequence.

Note to Codices A-T.—The four small marble cover codices, and the brown codex, were actually penned in the field, day by day, as the Expedition proceeded. So were some of the fragmentary codices, notably the "Pass Codex." But this cannot have been the case with the red books, nor with those of the fragmentary codices which are on paper of the same size, shape and quality as that of the red books. The covers are too fresh and bright, the paper too clean and sound, for these books to have ever been through the wear and tear of such a journey. The handwritings are too good, and too uniform, for either of the explorers to have executed them in the vicissitudes of the camp. The red books were certainly written after the return of the Expedition, and before Lewis' death in October, 1809—that is, in 1806-9. They were certainly put in Mr. Biddle's hands very early in 1810, and were probably written at St. Louis. I suppose the explorers bought a stock of these blank books, and proceeded to copy into them their Journals and Notes, from rough field-books like the marble ones and the brown one. They appear to have agreed upon a fair division of the work of authorship—each to write certain portions of the narrative, each in the first person singular speaking of the other in the third person, and each drawing what he wished from the rough field-books of both. They evidently intended to become the joint authors of their own Travels, though each should write certain portions himself. This design was frustrated by Lewis' untimely and tragic death; upon which Clark at once secured Mr. Biddle's invaluable services as editor and virtual author. But in making this explanation concerning the red books, I must not be misread as saying that they are not "original" manuscripts of Lewis and of Clark; simply that they are not books which were written in the field. Every word of them all is in the handwriting of one or the other of the explorers; they are original, they are genuine, and they are authentic.

With the foregoing codices, all "Lewis and Clark," are certain papers which need not be codified therewith, but which may be mentioned here. These are:

Paper 1.—Letter of Nicholas Biddle, in his handwriting, dated Philadelphia, April 6, 1818, addressed to Hon. William Tilghman, Chairman of

the Historical Committee of the Philosophical Society, making the deposit of fourteen of the volumes which form part of the above codices, etc.; 1 sheet letter paper, 2 folios, 4 pages, the last $\frac{1}{2}$ blank, endorsed in another hand "received and read to the Historical Comm., April, 1818, see Minutes." It is an important record. I have also in hand (from Judge Craig Biddle) the rough draft whence this clean copy was made.

Paper 2.—A memorandum in Mr. Biddle's hand of Mr. Jefferson's deposit (Nov., 1817) of three bound volumes of the Lewis and Clark Journals and Notes. A mere slip of paper. I have added in my hand a memorandum of these volumes, which are above Codices P, Q, R, making with the fourteen bound volumes of the Biddle deposit, and one of the red books of unascertained deposit, the eighteen books—thirteen red, four marbled, one brown—which I received from the Philosophical Society, December 16, 1892.

Paper 3.—Another memorandum of these codices; a mere slip of paper serving as a label to the books when shelved.

Paper 4.—A memorandum of *intended* illustrations of the published volumes—four for Vol. i, three for Vol. ii. But the engravings actually made do not agree with this memorandum. The paper is a mere slip, written one side, and was found pasted inside the cover of one of the red books.

Paper 5.—A blind memorandum, five items, headed "Papers, &c., of Capt. Lewis, &c." The items speak of "ten or twelve pocket vols., morocco bound;" of some natural history matter, "probably with Dr. Barton's books;" of certain vocabularies, ditto; of certain "observations of Lat. and Long.—of these probably Mr. Patterson knows something;" and of some maps "probably in the hands of the Publishers." It is a small square of letter paper, written one side, and rather a groping after something than any intelligible statement.

Paper 6.—Engraved copperplate of "The Fisher" or pekan, *Mustela pennanti*, perhaps having no connection with Lewis and Clark matters.

Note.—Mr. Biddle speaks in some of his letters of having had the original manuscript Journals of Sergeants Ordway and Gass. I find neither of these. His letter above cited, of April 6, 1818, speaks of the Ordway Journal as having been purchased from that person, and of Governor Clark's desiring, in letter of January 24, 1818, that it should be returned to him (Clark). I have no clue whatever to the Gass manuscript. The printed volume of Gass is of course well-known.

From the manuscripts above described it will be seen at once that the whole history of the Expedition might easily be reconstructed, if this were desirable. Mr. Biddle made a noble narrative, which has become a classic. The question, how closely he followed the original Journals and Note-books, has often been raised but never settled. It is now easy to see that

he wrote the whole work himself, nowhere following the actual words of the explorers themselves in his main text, though using tabular statistical matter literally in his Appendix. Had he done otherwise the world would have been treated to an unexampled curiosity in literature. Biddle's narrative should stand forever as the authentic History of the Expedition; but if the actual texts of Lewis and of Clark are ever published, they should be printed word for word, letter for letter, and point for point. This would make a wonderful book, and I am inclined to think it should be done; but no new editorial narrative need or should ever be made, nor should the Biddle text ever be tampered with. It may be annotated to any extent in the light of contemporaneous criticism, but should itself be left to stand, as a model of methodical, painstaking, precise and judicious editorship.

Judging from the Clark-Biddle correspondence, Mr. Biddle spent two or three years (1810-12) in writing the book, and about as much more time in superintending its publication, which was not finished till February, 1814. Sometimes he worked upon Lewis' manuscript, sometimes upon Clark's; oftener upon both, which he welded together into a third; the resulting text is altogether his, excepting in so far as it was mangled in the press. I presume Mr. Paul Allen is mainly responsible for the shocking punctuation and other errors of the published pages. He had absolutely no joint authorship with Mr. Biddle; he had not the shadow of a claim, that I can discover, to be even mentioned in connection with the work, much less to have his name put on the title-page; he was a mere hack, who received \$500 for some alleged or perhaps imaginary services, not discernible in the light of history; even the Preface, signed "Paul Allen," is Mr. Biddle's; and the memoir of Lewis, ostensibly addressed to Mr. Allen, was secured by Mr. Biddle from Mr. Jefferson. I am utterly at a loss to imagine from what motive Mr. Biddle voluntarily relinquished to another the credit justly due to himself as the actual writer of an immortal book.

The only serious criticism of Mr. Biddle's most admirable performance, which examination of the original manuscripts induces me to venture, concerns the exclusion of all tabular matter from the body of his text. The manuscripts of both the explorers, and of Clark especially, are replete with astronomical observations for latitude and longitude, tabulated courses by points of the compass, bearings of prominent landmarks by the same, formally estimated distances, etc. These are of great intrinsic interest in meandering the Missouri and other rivers, and invaluable in tracking the routes of the explorers across the mountains. It is true that such things do not make easy reading, and perhaps the publisher objected; but the benefit to the student of Lewis and Clark that would have resulted from the publication of these data is simply incalculable.